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thing must mean something to somebody. When asked the meaning of it all, a charming young lady clerk whose privilege it is to make out a portion of the boundless papers, replied: "It enables us French clerks to meet some charming American gentlemen." The charming American gentleman blushed, tipped her three francs, and with a livelier step and an easier frame of mind passed on.

There remains to be said that eating places in Paris are open from seven or seven-thirty in the morning to nine o'clock; again from twelve to two; and again from six to nine at night. They are closed at all other times.

The taxes ought not to be so discomfiting. France needs the money. A meal over six francs is taxed ten per cent. All hotel bills are taxed ten per cent. Many articles of merchandise are similarly taxed. Bank checks and other commercial papers are taxed. Theatre tickets are taxed, and a supertax is added for the poor. "Tips," which are more universal and mandatory than in America, add another ten per cent. Thus the taxes and tips add from twenty to twenty-five per cent to the otherwise high cost of nearly everything.

Many of the famous art museums are still closed, the Louvre, the Luxembourg, the Musée de Cluny; a large number of the art treasures not yet having been returned to Paris. The rose window of Notre Dame has as yet not been returned. A portion of the Louvre, it is announced, will soon be opened again to the public. Other places of interest, as the Hotel des Invalides, are already open. The many "gardens" and churches can be enjoyed at will. One of the marvels of the war is that so few of the art features of Paris, a city bombarded so often by the big cannon and by airplane sorely injured in many places, were harmed. True, extraordinary precautions were taken to protect them. The sarcophagus of Napoleon is not yet uncovered. Sand bags are still against portions of the Madeleine. The *Colonne de Vendome* is just being cleaned of its protection of ashes and masonry. The sand bags against portions of the Louvre have been removed during the past few days. And so through the list. The only statue seen by the writer to have been injured is one of an apostle at the rear of the Madeleine, struck by a shell from the "Big Bertha." The precious and immortal art things of Paris seem to have been protected by a power greater than the ingenuity of man.

Interparliamentary Union

Hon. JAMES L. SLAYDEN*

WHATEVER one may think of the epochal agreement made in Paris, it must be admitted that it is an important step forward and upward in the solution of international affairs. It is a pronouncement for law as against force. It is a revolution, and it will never go backwards. The millions who pay and suffer and die in war will never again consent to the methods of the thousands who benefit through war. The thousands

will not give up at once, nor without a struggle. They will try to cheat or defeat the great League of Nations idea. Rank, pay, and opportunity are too profitable to be surrendered without a vigorous protest. But if they stand in the way of righteous development, they will be swept into oblivion by such a tidal wave of indignation as the world has never seen. The League of Nations agreement not only puts a definite and formal end to the war with Germany, but it assures a suffering world that many other wars that would have come never will come.

During the first three years of the war in Europe, with the consequent urgent obligations of neutrals, it never appeared opportune to press the principles of the Interparliamentary Union on the attention of governments. It was not lack of interest in the high purposes of the union that caused the European groups, and our own, to refrain from pressing their views on responsible statesmen. It was merely a proper regard for what was expedient, and expediency is neither cowardice nor apostasy, but wise subordination of ideals for the time being to the end of facilitating their purposes at an opportune moment.

Now that the war has happily ended, the activity of this, the most extensive and influential of all the organizations that have engaged in the building up of public opinion for peace through justice, is being renewed.

A few days ago I received a cabled message from Lord Weardale, president of the Interparliamentary Union, also signed by Christian Lange of Norway, its general secretary, which reads as follows:

"Active steps now being taken to reconstruct leading European Groups of the Interparliamentary Union in view of the new opening for the Union as a constituent part of the contemplated Government League of Nations. We trust American group is alive to importance of acquiring strong leadership and membership in new Congress. Appeal to you to secure prompt action to this end."

(Signed)

WEARDALE.
LANGE.

Although my service as president of the American group ends today, I venture to say that I very much hope that all members of the new congress who want a permanent peace founded on justice will do what the president of the union requests, and will exert themselves to increase the strength and influence of the American group. Our roll of members should be in effect that of the American Congress. It can be if members will really try to bring all their colleagues into the union.

Even the agreement in Paris does not end our work. Against evil and ignorance the campaign of education must go on always. Each generation must be educated and kept educated to an appreciation of the advantages of a law-governed world.

In each of the governments of Europe, without an exception, the Interparliamentary Union has been a powerful factor in developing and directing public opinion. It ought to be so with us, and would have been if we had believed that we could be drawn into the affairs of Europe as a belligerent. We thought we were

* At the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union, the retiring president, the Honorable James L. Slayden, President of the American Peace Society, delivered this address.

safe from embroilment. Too many of us relied on our splendid isolation, on the counsels of Washington and Jefferson to avoid entangling alliances, and on our traditions. But that is all changed now. We did intervene in Europe, and we are tied up in alliances. Europe's affairs have become our affairs, and, logically and reciprocally, our affairs must be those of Europe. If Europe remains peaceful and orderly, we are apt to be. If Europe surrenders to revolution or engages in great wars our peace is in jeopardy. That is a selfish and urgent reason why we should try to exert an influence for a just and lasting peace. If we are to avoid having our Republic become a military camp, if we are to avoid excessive taxes for the keep of great armies and navies, we must help our colleagues of the union in other countries, who are striving for just these things.

For years, in fact since its organization in October, 1888, this association has been advocating "the reduction of armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety," and the arbitration or judicial settlement of international disputes. From my hasty reading of the League of Nations constitution I understand those very things to be the points of greatest importance. If that program of the Interparliamentary Union had been accepted by governments and lived up to, we probably would not have had the more than four years of horror that ended last November. The two hundred billion dollars the war cost could have been saved and spent for the betterment of society. The nine million dead would have been saved. If our program had been accepted and lived up to, there would have been no necessity for the new League of Nations. The work of the union for the last thirty years for these things does not end with the new human charter. It is an inspiration for greater effort. I hope that the American group, under a new and abler leadership, will play a great part in the future development of the world along these lines of righteousness and reason. I thank you for your support and confidence in the last four years, and I bespeak the same cordial co-operation with your new president.

A LEAGUE OF NATIONS

By JACKSON H. RALSTON

THE world owes the present armistice to the coming of the United States into the fray. But for our entrance cessation of hostilities might have been long delayed. The United States, therefore, will, in the final settlement, occupy a position of peculiar power.

The eyes of the world are turning to the United States, seeing among us the nearest approach to democracy on a large scale the world affords. We are found to possess a country to which war is alien and which takes no interest in commercial exploitation of weaker countries as a national pastime. Other countries, weary of past conditions, with such an exemplar before them, seek to discover from our form of government if there may not be such a thing as a United States of the world, and ask if a scheme which united thirteen jealous, discordant colonies and preserved peace among them and their associates, save for a relatively brief period, may

not give suggestion and force to a plan for uniting civilized mankind.

In foreign affairs the common man must hereafter be taken into account as he has never been before in any European country, whether called democracy or kingdom. Secret diplomacy must fall to pieces, for it means distrust of and contempt for the man in the street. Thoughtful men everywhere, waking up to the rights of obscure individuals and weaker nations, grow more critical of "spheres of influence," the exploitation of which is necessarily confined to a few choice spirits, the burdens and dangers falling upon the many.

Americans are too apt to consider the question before them as entirely akin to that which offered itself to their ancestors at the time of the formation of the Constitution. While this instrument was formed, among other things, to insure domestic tranquillity, it would have been a very different production but for the fact that the greater necessity for its existence was rather external than internal. We had to prepare to take our place among the nations of the earth and to be ready to offer to them a united and stalwart front. The States, therefore, yielded to the general government powers which as sovereign they would have retained, as, for instance, to declare war or to make peace. They surrendered all direct relations with foreign governments, the control of such being vested in the central power of the United States. They could no longer levy taxes on imports from fellow States, but the custom-houses were placed in charge of the Federal authorities.

Among the differences, therefore, to be noted between the American problem and the present one are that we cannot now interfere with the existence of national armies, although we may find it expedient to control their size; we cannot touch, except under severe limitations, diplomatic intercourse between the nations; we cannot prevent the levy of custom-house taxes. In doubtless many other important respects, the divergencies between the problems will make themselves manifest, but limitations of space prohibit their present exploitation.

Our undertaking must be to preserve equal rights, good faith, and justice between nations, not to seek their internal reformation or to interfere with their management, even to secure order. Our greatest duty will be to remove possible causes of dissension between them. We must do all within our power to further the development of countries which have not yet advanced to the average civilization of the more enlightened nations.

Accepting the division of government made by Montesquieu and followed, more or less accurately in this country, into legislative, executive, and judicial, we will first consider as of primary importance, the legislative.

International Legislative Powers

If we were to dwell in the realm of abstract right alone, we would be compelled to say and to insist that absolute free trade should be the rule between nations as it is the rule between the several States of this Union. We would point to the fact that the existence of this condition has furnished the greatest assurance of our national solidarity and freedom from internal jealousy